121 /6 cont./ My choice of a group in kampong Bontoramba (1)

[621] 1. One of the 14 kampongs that form the adat community of Borongloë.

was mainly determined by three factors. in the first place this group seemed to display a great amount of cohesion; it had already repeatedly become apparent to me that members of this group were married to each other. In the second place, the kampong head, a prominent man in this group, had seemed favorably disposed toward me on a number of occasions. Thirdly, one of my best informants was married to the daughter of that [115] head. And, finally, the kampong was located so that, compared with many of the others, it was within easy reach.

121 In writing up data it had become evident to me earlier that indefinite quantitative adjectives had to be called in repeatedly ●125 to describe /7/ relationships without the picture of the related group becoming clear at the same time; the "many" unmarried women, the "few" divorces, the "regular" occurrence of marriages by flight, and the "frequent" marriages of members of the same generation, all these statements are, in the end, not very meaningful. A kampong survey in which attention was paid to all these points seemed to be the best method of obtaining a clearer insight into a great variety of relationships. The first survey took place as early as 1940. However, the material was lost. Not until 1948 did the opportunity present itself to repeat the survey. A kampong territory has fixed boundaries, and since neither the worship of ornaments, the grouping of statuses, nor, finally, kin relationship offered a foothold, I chose this territorial unit as the starting point for further research.

125 The registration took place from house to house and was carried out on the basis of the following questions: 1. the names of the inhabitants of the house; 2. their mutual kin relationship; 3. their place of birth; 4. their kin relationship to the head

125 /7 cont./ of the kampong. In case someone was not related to the Kapala or his wife, it was established whether he was related to a certain Mangenre, who, as soon became evident to me, occupied a central position in a group of relatives of around 100 Buginese. If this did not appear to be the case either, I looked for kinship connections with neighboring houses. In this way a first general view of the size of the groups of relatives in one kampong territory came into focus.

July 1, 1948 was chosen as the date for the survey.

125 In further analysis of the data it appeared that the mobility
166 which had already been noted for the adat community head and which actually was regarded as a troublesome quality by him personally was a trait occurring generally in Makassarese society. This mobility, however, was not reflected in the original figures. For this reason a second survey was carried out a year after the first one. At this time the names of the occupants of the houses were noted down again, and, in cases where there was a divergence from the compilation of the previous year, the reason that led to migration was ascertained and the place where the immigrant had come from and to which the emigrant had gone were noted down.

In so doing, I considered as immigrants those who entered the kampong, and as emigrants those who /8/ left it. Finally, those who changed houses within the kampong in the course of the year were registered as transmigrants.

121 The investigation of the related group thus led to a further investigation into a particular quality of the group: its mobility. This mobility ultimately led to an investigation into the migration of the Makassarese into Buginese country and on some aspects concerning the life of such colonists.

[36] [62] Living Conditions

Kampong Bontoramba is an hour from Macassar by bicycle across an asphalt motor road. A stay in the kampong therefore
123 can neither be compared with one on a remote island nor with

600 /14 cont./ method the material remains limited to the answers written down and the entire responsibility for an adequate picture rests with these answers.

The first method has the advantage over the second one of furnishing quick results (1). It is therefore preferable in

1. See E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Social Anthropology, Inaugural Address, Oxford, 1948, p. 7: "...an intensive study of a single primitive society takes about ten years" /cited in English/. This is the period of time, at any rate, set for a beginner!

those cases where it can be pursued without damage being done to the reliability of the results.

•125 The mutual relationship of the two methods has not yet been fully evaluated, however. In the investigation in South Celebes, the latter method has been followed.

In so doing, it appeared impossible to give an exhaustive description of the culture. Only a few aspects could be illuminated.

Nor did it seem possible to give an "objective" description. Time and again a choice had to be made from the mass of facts, and in this choice there lies a subjective element.

121 The initial object of this work to present a cultural description has been adhered to up to the end. With an eye 000 to future investigations, the question may be raised however whether it would not be more in accordance with factual procedure to first set oneself a definite problem and subsequently to explore how this problem was worked out in a certain community. The responsibility of the writer for the choice of his facts and their ordering is thereby in no way reduced. Evans-Pritchard has already given a positive answer to this question (2).

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/52 cont./ born herself. Women who are pregnant, prefer to return to their homeland Pangkadjene, at least for their first confinement.

Thirty-two of the 51 members of the Kapala group born outside Bontoramba, but within the adat community, come from kampongs bordering on Bontoramba, such as Buttadidi (10) and Songkolo (12), as well as from near-by Borong (9). In the kampongs situated farther away, the numbers are smaller: Parang Banua, 4; Borongkaluku, 3; Bontoa, 2; Bontomanai and Kotjikang, each 1; from the adjoining Pagentungang, 1. Pakatto (9) forms an understandable exception because, as was reported above, it is regarded as the homeland of the members of the Kapala group.

From these figures, therefore, it appears that approximately 80 per cent of the Bontoramba population was born in Bontoramba or its vicinity.

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2. Migrations

It further appeared that kampong residents repeatedly changed houses either for a longer or a shorter period of time. This phenomenon, though it can be observed, is not easily expressed in figures.

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I tried to gain an insight into the number of those who changed houses by carrying out a second kampong survey exactly a year after the first one. The -- in my opinion -- many prolonged visits and other changes that took place in the course of the year where the previous state of affairs had been restored again through subsequent changes could not be covered by this registration. The results obtained in this manner are as follows.

In 76 of the 133 houses a change in composition took place during the year (from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949).

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Births and deaths were not registered because they were not relevant to this study /53/ of mobility. Divided into the usual three groups, the data showed that 39 of the 81

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/53 cont./ This means, therefore, that over a period of one year, two-elevenths of all kampong residents changed houses.

The subdivision into Kapala, Mangenre, and Rest group shows that the largest migration took place in the Mangenre group, where almost /sic/ two-fifths of the group members moved, while in the Kapala and Rest groups approximately one-seventh of the members changed domicile. As a reason for this we could cite the fact that the Mangenre group most closely approximates what is called below a group of colonists. The members of such a group seem to form little attachment to their place of residence. Many of the Mangenre group moved away to Macassar, where, according to reports, they were able to earn more money than in Bontoramba.

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According to these figures, migration is just about equal among men and women. /54/ For 72 migrating men there are 73 migrating women.

The difference in migration between married and unmarried people does not seem to be great. Here one should differentiate the cases where only a married man or woman changes houses from the migration of a complete family unit.

In one year, 22 families with 35 children moved in Bontoramba, a total of 79 persons. In 8 of these 22 cases, a young couple moved away from the parental house. A two-family house in this way became a one-family house. This reflects the striving of each family to have its own house (1).

[125]

1. A young man or woman who moved to his (her) spouse's family after marriage, thus changing a one-family dwelling into a two-family dwelling, was registered as a transmigrant.

Three families who wanted to live closer to their sawahs

167 /57 cont./ The Makassarese and Buginese proclivity for colonizing as well as their call to the sea can probably be explained by the same conflict.

3. Colonizations

The move of a man of high nobility with a large number of followers to a remote region, such as could be observed half a century ago, might in a few cases be explained by difficulties with very close relatives.

In the case of recent migrations of Makassarese to Buginese country, an economic motive is always reported. However, it seems more correct to say that changes in the economic structure stimulated the tendency toward mobility.

In several kampongs situated to the north of Parepare, large groups speaking Makassarese have been found. I undertook an investigation in three kampongs, Kape, Langa, and Paria. The aim was to explore the integration of Makassarese colonists, living among the Buginese. To make a distinction from the migrations discussed above, we shall here refer to colonizations.

124 125 167 The "Makassarese" living in a certain kampong were in each case called together for a brief survey. This usually resulted in a number of adult men appearing. They were questioned on several points: their name and the names of their housemates; who of these were married; whether this married couple was related to each other and if so to what degree; whether this marriage had taken place in the festive manner or by way of silariang; which region they regarded as their homeland; for how long they had resided here; the reasons that had led them to leave their homeland and come here.

The results showed few differences between the three kampongs. /58/ Everywhere the tie with the homeland turned out to be a very close one. During harvest time, kinsmen came to help. After the harvest, individuals of the colonists'

571 /106 cont./ and subsequently had continued to live there
591 even after the reconciliation. Furthermore, there lived in Bontoramba a young woman, an orphan who had gotten into difficulties with her parents, who lived elsewhere, and so she had been taken into the house of one of the prominent /107/ kampong residents. In the third place, a Javanese, an ex-colonist, should be mentioned here. He had come to live in the house of one of the Mangenre group to work for this person (1). Similar cases are known to occur in each kampong.

● [125]

1. The two last-named individuals were registered as kinsmen of the master of the house in the census.

571 Nowadays a kampong head frequently has someone in
622 his house who carries letters for him and performs extra
202 errands. This function is created by the need for a confidential
602 messenger (2). Frequently the head will take a young kinsman

2. In Borongloë the suro (literally, "messenger") has come to have the job of attending to community labor /gemeentediensten/ -- until shortly before the war, corvée /herendiensten/. He does not run errands. This development, however, varies greatly from one locality to another.

for this purpose.

571 In principle, kinsmen are equals, and therefore there
602 can never be any question of a relationship of followers between

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/256 cont./ Of these 278 children, 60 received a graduating diploma. The rest left school for various reasons which are recorded in the school's register. For 95 the reason given was laziness; for 49, their own request; for 29 illness; for 23, transfer to another school, for instance in connection with the parents moving; for 14, lack of money; and for 8, the fact that they were too small.

Laziness has reference not only to the achievements at school, but also to attendance at school, and children who live as far as two kilometers or more are with greater difficulty induced to cover this great distance every day, than those who live near by in the vicinity.

Under "own request" many girls are included who are regarded by their parents or other kinsmen as too big to walk on the street. Girls above twelve years of age, but frequently even those over ten, are preferably kept at home.

The poor payment of tuition was a reason for removing a child from school, particularly during the last two years. At that time the school had sufficient pupils. One does not need to jump to the conclusion that poor people's children were here especially prejudiced in the opportunities for development. Frequently, these parents are no poorer or richer than others, they just won't spare the tuition money.

The fact that pupils were too small was only given as a reason for leaving school in 1939. This must be regarded as due to the fact that the number of pupils was considered to be too large and because the Inspector believed that instruction was suffering from this.

125 In 1949 an attempt was made to discover the residence of the 278 pupils enrolled from 1935 through 1940. This attempt must be regarded as a failure. In 1949, 104 children were still living in the same kampong; 12 had moved to a kampong outside Borongloë, 1 to a kampong outside Goa, and 7 were dead. Of the great majority (154) the place of residence was /257/ unknown. I assume that by far the greatest part of these no longer

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/257 cont./ resided in the same kampong because my informant, the school director himself, was very well informed about local conditions and accordingly would have been quite familiar, in most cases, with the domicile if this had remained unchanged. But no positive answer was forthcoming to the question concerning the domicile of 154 ex-pupils. There was no time to investigate this matter in another way.

There is a certain correlation between the number of pupils who went to school in Bontomanai from a certain kampong during those years and the distance that these children had to cover. The numbers and the distances in kilometers follow here:

80 from Bontomanai itself
77 from Pakatto, about 1 kilometer
25 from Borong, 2.5 kilometers
24 from Songkolo, 2.5 to 3 kilometers
20 from Kotjikang, 2.5 kilometers
15 from Parang Banua, 4 to 5 kilometers
13 from Borongkaluku, 2.5 kilometers
8 from Bontoramba, 5 kilometers
5 from Bontoa, 5 kilometers
4 from Buttadidi, 4 kilometers
3 from Bolangi (1), 4 kilometers

1. Kampong of an adjoining adat community.

2 from Borongpalala, 3 kilometers
1 from Bonto Bonto, 6 kilometers

There were no pupils from two kampongs.

One of these kampongs is situated 7 kilometers from Bontomanai and 3 kilometers from another place with a school. The children therefore went there.

All the kampongs mentioned are connected with Bontomanai by means of good footpaths, with the exception of Borongpalala.

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him. 584 834

Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans. 125

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such class designations as bangsa hamba[slaves] and others as turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's. 565 558 567

Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell plenty in order to send him to school. 855

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe.) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 567 558 166 152 000

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8
Celebes OG1

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793 There are not many
838 homosexual priests, but there are some. (Could this be an indication of Buginese influence, or is it from the common
S underlying base of both Buginese and Toradja culture?)
565 In Rantepao they have many tumbang at the mabua. There
535 is a tumbang from each noble family.
527 Move to Watampone: I left Makale on September 21, and
C went to Watampone via Pangkadjene. I started work there,
117 but on Friday, September 23, at dusk, while returning from Cape Patiro I hit a stump and the jeep overturned throwing me out and cutting a gash many inches long in my scalp. I was knocked out but was soon taken to a house. People carried me to the office of the district kepala in the dark. This was several miles away. They carried me on a bamboo litter, and there was much blood. A party arrived with a doctor and I was taken to a hospital and stitched up. I was laid up for two weeks with a concussion. I am now writing on Wednesday, October 5, twelve days later, and seem to be all right. I hope to be able to leave here for Makassar on Sunday, October 9th.

Someone stole the spare tire and bracket from the jeep. It had evidently broken off on impact. This accident nearly finished me, and it made me miss the ship to Bima on September 30. I will now try to get the earliest ship going to either Bima or Ambon.

M Watampone: Starting September 22, I spent most of my
● 125 time recovering from the accident.

Andi brought me the census and map, both of which are fair. The census is poor in one respect, that is, the number of slaves and other classes given is only good for the heads of households. I will try to get more accurate data on this before I leave from the Kepala kampong. Also, the census is not really a complete job, and I made a mistake to say only the heads of households. And the census is good only for one of the three parts of the kampong complex. The results, however, are given below.

M I talked a bit now and then with Andi and others. One
565 thing I noticed was that across from the pasanggrahan there
346 is a middle school, which was the former palace of the radja, as can be seen from the five flaps on the gabled tin front. The regalia were kept in a side building (like a pavilion), which is at present the principal's office. The walls are very thick (I thought of the atomic buildings which have thick walls to keep powerful rays inside!). The present Radja had a house built across the plaza, and for the regalia, a bigger pavilion alongside.